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AUTHOR Friedrich, Paul
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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a preliminary sketch of the evolution of Russian kinship from the reconstructed stages of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Slavic, through old and nineteenth century Russian, to the trends of contemporary modern Russian. Linguistic, historical, and anthropological approaches have been combined. The kinship terminology is viewed as mediating through time between one aspect of linguistic structure and one social aspect of cultural organization. The conclusions deal with a point of method, sum up the evolution of Russian kinship in relation to general evolution and taxonomy, and suggest new fields for the present approach. (Author/RL)

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AN EVOLUTIONARY SKETCH OF RUSSIAN KINSHIP

Paul Friedrich

IN THE FOLLOWING paper is presented a preliminary sketch of the evolution of Russian kinship from the reconstructed stages of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and Proto-Slavic, through the historically attested old and nineteenth-century Russian, to the trends of contemporary modern Russian. Linguistic, historical, and anthropological approaches have been combined. The kinship terminology is thought of as mediating through time between one aspect of linguistic structure and one social aspect of cultural organization. The conclusions deal with a point of method, sum up the evolution of Russian kinship in relation to general evolution and taxonomy, and finally, suggest new fields for the present approach.

Proto-Indo-European

About the second half of the third millenium the dialectally heterogeneous Proto-Indo-European speech community appears to have been located somewhere in or between the Altai Mountains of central Asia and the swampy forests of northeastern Europe, with greater Caucasia as the most probable area, for the following reasons. A cluster of typological rarities such as twelve velar stops, three or four laryngeal phonemes, and only one vowel phoneme would link it in a *Sprachbund* (Jakobson, 1936b:353) with the languages of the Caucasian area such as Kabardian (Jakovlev, 1948; Hockett, 1955:85-86). All the ingenious arguments about fauna and flora (Thieme, 1953) that have been used to locate the PIE people in northeastern Europe can be used to place them in the Caucasus. Finally, textual evidence and scores of sound etyma, such as those for axle and yoke, lead to the reconstruction of a fairly mobile society of wagon-using, animal-breeding agriculturalists, apparently that of the prehistoric Kuban, and closely related types; the Middle Kuban was a Copper Age culture dated at about 2100 B. C. (Gimbutas, 1956:79, 92; Childe, 1957:148-74). As Piggott has concluded, "But responsible linguists and archeologists have agreed in regarding the possible region of origin as relatively limited, and lying somewhere between the Danube and the Oxus" (Piggott, 1950:248). He subsequently emphasizes south Russia. According to rather tight archeological evidence, these warlike folk entered eastern Europe about 2000 B. C., and north India about two hundred years later (Piggott, 1950:344-89), rapidly replacing or altering the indigenous cultures (Gimbutas, 1956:106-8). The material culture had already started to differentiate in a manner roughly corresponding to the major linguistic stocks such as Germanic and Slavic (Gimbutas, 1960). Ethnological reasoning would lead one to suspect a patrilineal organization, since Caucasian tribes have always been notably patrilocal and patriarchal, and in the same general central Asiatic culture area pastoralists such as the Kazaks have retained Omaha systems with extraordinary conservativism for hundreds of years

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(Krader, 1955).[1] But let us turn to the purely linguistic and philological evidence.

The kinship terminology of PIE has been largely reconstructed by the comparativists, and was stated as a full-scale system by Delbrück in 1889. The inferences in this paper are based primarily on nine stocks, since the Tocharian and Hittite materials are either late in time, or not included in the early studies of PIE, or are of little help for anything but the obvious features. I have followed other scholars in giving special weight to the oldest texts in Indic and Greek: the Rigveda and the Homeric epics, both dating from the second millenium B. C., present a full panoply of terms enmeshed in an ethnographically realistic context (Coon, 1958:250)[2]

What are the implications of the reconstructed terms? It seems probable on the basis of correspondences in meaning alone that at least two levels of ascending and descending generations were recognized within the speaker's own line, and that elder siblings were set off from younger siblings. But the protophonemic shapes cannot be reconstructed. On the other hand, the six morphs for the immediate blood relationships are each based on five to nine correspondences of form and of meaning in the daughter stocks, and all six are reflected in both the Rigveda and Homeric Greek. They and all the other reliable PIE reconstructions imply fairly definite distinctions of age between generations. The sex of the relative was implied by all the PIE terms except that for child and *an;* the rather vague meaning of the latter as either grandchild or grandparent gives intimations of a component of reciprocity between alternate generations. The line between blood and marriage relationships was sharply drawn in some cases (Chart 1).

Chart 1

Proto-Indo-European: Consanguines

pHtrwos FaBr;4, GS	*pHteHr* Fa;7, GS	*maHteHr* Mo;9, GS	*awyos* (4) MoBr (3) MoFa (2)
bhraHteHr Br;9, GS			*swesor* Si;9, GS
	swHnws So;6, GS	*dhwghHteHr* Da;8, GS	
	nepoHts — *en* — *neptyH*		
	ChSo;4 — G+2;7, S — ChDa;4		
	SiSo;2 — G-2;2 — SiDa;2		
	SbSo;4		SbDa;4

Several other PIE morphs symbolize more special components. Powerful correspondences for "orphan" *(orbho-),* with related meanings of "inheritance" (Pokorny, 1959:781), suggest that orphans were frequently adopted into the patrihouseholds. The etymology for widow *(wydheHw-),* as against the absence of any for widower, may imply some restriction on the remarriage of women, perhaps sacrifice and interment with the husband, as is indicated by the archeology, or perhaps the levirate, as is hinted by other aspects of the terminology.

The distribution among the affinal terms of the component of "sex of linking relative,"

is revealing. Five out of the ten affinal terms were primarily or exclusively employed by a woman speaking of her husband's primary blood relatives; the distinctive feature was the male sex of the linking husband. Three of these protomorphs have the precise meanings of: (1) husband's sister *(ĝ̂Hlows)*, (2) husband's brother *(daHyweHr)*, and (3) husband's brother's wife *(yenHter)*; the latter is especially diagnostic of extended, patrilocal families (Hirt, 1907). The single affinal term that involves a linking wife rather than a linking husband is that for the wife's brother *(syowr)*, based on correspondences in Slavic and Sanskrit. The PIE affines have been listed on Chart 2 and the correspondences upon which they are based are tabulated on Chart 3.

Two other roots have been reconstructed traditionally as meaning husband's father *(swe̯kwros)* and husband's mother *(swe̯krwH)*, etymologically "my male chief" and "my female chief"; at some time during the PIE period the women presumably shifted from a previous usage and began employing these special, descriptive terms for their husband's parents.

Chart 2

Affines

Proto-Indo-European (2400 B. C.)	Old Russian (1100 A. D.)	Modern Russian (1850 A. D.)
1. *swe̯kwros;* HuFa; 9, GS	*svekrU;* HuFa	*svjokor;* HuFa
2. *swe̯krwH;* HuMo; 9, GS	*svekry;* HuMo	*svekrov';* HuMo
3. perhaps as 1; WiFa; 1	*tIstI;* WiFa	*test';* WiFa
4. perhaps as 2; WiMo; 1	*tIshcha;* WiMo	*tjoshcha;* WiMo
5. *yenHter;* HuBrWi; 6, GS	*jatrovI;* HuBrWi, BrWi	*jatrov';* SpBrWi, BrWi
6. *daHyweHr;* HuBr; 7, GS	*dĕverI;* HuBr	*dever';* HuBr
7. *ĝ̂Hlows;* HuSi; 4, G	*zolva;* HuSi	*zolovka;* HuSi
8. *syowr;* WiBr; 2, S	*shurinU;* WiBr	*shurin;* WiBr
9. *gʷen-;* woman, Wi	*zhena;* Wi	*zhena;* Wi
10. *men-;* thought, man	*muzhI;* Hu	*muzh;* Hu
11. *ĝ̂en-;* DaHu; 5, GS	*zjatI;* DaHu	*zjat';* DaHu, SiHu
12. *snwsos;* SoWi; 6, GS	*snŭkha;* SoWi	*snokha;* SoWi (m. s.)
13. (Sk.) *navishthah;* SoWi	*nevĕstka;* SoWi	*nevestka;* SoWi, BrWi
14.	*svestI;* WiSi	*sves';* WiSi

Affines, cont.

	Proto-Indo-European	Old Russian	Modern Russian
15.		*svojakU;* male affine, WiSiHu	*svojak;* SpSiHu, WiBr male affine
16.		*svatU;* male affine	*svat;* ChSpFa, male affine
17.		*(otIchImU;* MoHu; Proto-Slavic)	*otchim;* MoHu
18.		*materIsha;* FaWi	*machekha;* FaWi
19.		*pastorUkU;* SpSo	*pasynok;* SpSo
20.		*padUshti;* SpDa	*padcheritsa;* SpDa
21.			*vlazenikha;* uxorilocal daughter
22.			*vodvorets;* uxorilocal DaHu

The skewed distribution and the etymological transparency of the two parent-in-law terms, which both contain the root *swe-,* meaning "own," may indicate that the male speaker actually was using the term *awyos,* glossed on page 5 as mother's brother or father, for his wife's father, as would in fact tend to happen under the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter that characterizes many patrilineal systems. On the other hand, key exceptions in the ancient texts prove that at least by 1500 B. C. the terms derived from *swêkros* and *swêkrwH* could in fact be used by a man for his wife's parents (Delbrück, 1889:516, 528), although they seldom were because of the prevailing norm and the frequency of the patrilocally extended family. Other evidence suggests that for these relationships through the wife the men were still using generic terms, as reflected in the Homeric *pentherós* (from PIE *bhendh-* "bind"), for the wife's father.

The terms for secondary and tertiary consanguines present more subtle problems. First, the speakers differentiated between a father's brother *(pHtrwos),* a mother's brother *(awyos),* and a father *(pHteHr).* The amital terms were probably also bifurcate collateral since a specific term for the mother's sister contrasts with a term for mother and another term for the father's sister at some point in several daughter stocks, such as Celtic, and a descriptive compound for the father's sister shows up in five daughter stocks; avuncular and amital bifurcate collaterality may be taken to symbolize unilocal residence and unilineal descent (Murdock, 1949:148). In addition, the overlap or identification of the categories of mother's sister and of step-mother in several stocks such as Armenian has led several philologists to set up a PIE morph, *maHtrwwyaH* (Pokorny, 1959:701), with both meanings, thus implying the sororate, or marriage with the deceased wife's sister, a frequent form of preferred secondary marriage in unilineal societies. Finally, much textual evidence and the reconstructed meaning of the PIE

Chart 3

Correspondences

Relationship	Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	Germanic	Slavic	Baltic	Other
I.							
1. Br	bhrātar(RV)	phrātēr; clan br. (H)	frater	brōthar (Go)	bratU	broter	Avestan bratar Toch. B pracar
II.							
1. HuBr	devar(RV)	dāēr(H)	lēuir	zeihhur (OHG)	dĕverI	dēveris	Arm. taygr
2. WiBr	śyāla				shurinU		
3. HuSi		galōs(H)	glōs		zUlUva		
4. HuFa	shvashuraḥ (RV)	'Fekuros (H)	socer, also WiFa	swehur (OHG)	svekrU	šēsuras (Lith.)	Avestan xvasurō
5. HuMo	shvashrūḥ(RV)	'Fekurā(H)	socrus, also WiMo	svaihro (Go) SpMo	svekry		Arm. skesur SpMo Gall. chwegr
6. HuBrWi	yātar	einateres (H) only pl.	ianitricēs only pl.		jentry	jenter (Lith.)	Arm. ner
7. SoWi	snushā	nuos(H) (m. s.)	nurus, -ūs	snur(OHG)	snUkha (m. s.)		Arm. nu
8. SoWi	navishthaḥ				nevestka		
III.							
1. DaHu	jāmātar(RV)	gambros(H) also SpFa, SiHu	gener		zentI	žentas	Avest. zāmātar
2. woman, Wi	gnā; Wi	gunē, banā		gino	zhena	genno (OPrus)	Arm. kin; Wi, birth Ir. ben
3. relative	janas(RV)	genos	genus	kuni(Go)	zentI		
IV.							
1. Si	svásar	ĕor(voc.)	soror	swistar(Go.)			Lit. seser O. Ir. siur Arm. k'oir
2. Da	duhitár-	dugatĕr	futĭr(Osc.)	daúhtar(Go.)			O. Pr. duckti Arm. dustr
3. So	sūnúḥ	uĭús		sunus(Go.)			Lith. sūnùs Toch. soyä
4. MoBr, MoFa; older male in Mo patriline-age		ăĭă, "earth"	avus, PaFa avunculus, MoBr	awō(Go.), PaMo ēam (A. Sax.), PaBr			Lit. avýnas, MoBr O. Pr. awis, MoBr O. Ir. (h)aue, SbCh Hit. ḫuḫḫaš, PaFa Lycian *xuga, MoFa
5. FaBr	pitṛvya	pátrōs (Pindar)	patruus	Vetter(OHG), FaBr BrSo, FaBrSo			Lit. thewis
6. GDa, SbDa, SiDa	naptĭ(RV)		neptis, GDa	nevo(OHG), SbSo			Avest. napti Lit. nepotis, ChSo O. Ir. necht, SiDa
7. MoSi, FaWi	mātrkā, MoSi	mētruiā, FaWi	mātertera, FaWi	mōdrige, MoSi			Celtic; modryb, MoSi Arm. mauru, FaWi
8. Ha, house chief	páti	pósis	potestās, power	brūþ-faþs bridegroom			Lit. pàts, Hu Toch. A pats, Hu
9. Old	sána-, old		senex, old	sin (O. Isl.)			Lit. sẽnas Arm. hin O. Ir. sen

morphs for "big family," "house chief," and "group of families" (Meillet, 1937:392), while not entirely convincing, do make it seem highly probable that the speakers had patrilineal descent and descent groups.

The patterning of avuncular and nepotic terminology likewise fits in with the theory of PIE patriliny. Some Greek materials warrant the inference that the term for paternal uncle *(pHtrwos)* may have denoted any older relative in the individual's own patrilineal group (Delbrück, 1889:500, 502). On the other hand, much more solid evidence from Greek (Hesiod), Latin, Armenian, and Germanic all indicates that the term *awyos* was used for the mother's father or for either grandfather, quite as much as for the mother's brother; *awyos* probably denoted any older man in the mother's patrilineage, with the philologically reconstructed connotation of "beneficent" or "friendly." The PIE *awyos* category is paralleled by the *nep-* class; grandchildren were apparently classed upwards with nephews and nieces as *nepoHts* and *neptyH;* at least in Gothic and Slavic there is evidence that this upward classification was specifically with the sister's son and daughter, a pattern typical of patrilineal, Omaha structures. The whole network points toward the sort of relationship between classificatory uncles and classificatory nephews that is often associated with patrilineal descent and patriarchal authority; the *awyos* presumably acted as the permissive "male mother" to the demanding sons of his clan sisters (Radcliff-Brown, 1952:15-32). The avunculate as thus reconstructed would complement the strong patriarchy that is well attested by other evidence, such as the excellent correspondences for family head or "master" *(potis;*9/11, GS).[3]

The third and final line of reasoning concerns correlations of completely negative evidence in some semantic slots with optimally positive evidence for certain other slots that are structurally related to the first set. To begin with, morphs for cousin cannot be reconstructed for PIE, or even for some of the daughter stocks such as Slavic. This alone would suggest that cousin kin types were classed with other relatives. For example, all the cousins to a given degree may have been lumped with siblings;[4] the roots for brother and sister are, in fact, based on 100 per cent correspondences of both form and meaning, just as one would expect if this were a truly classificatory system in which the terms for the primary consanguines were extended to the collateral consanguines. A second possibility is that only the parallel cousins were classed with the siblings, while cross-cousins were ranked asymmetrically upward or downward; the maternal cross-cousins would be ranked up with the mother's brother and the mother's sister, whereas the father's sister's children would be ranked down with the sister's children, just as the sister's children were classed downward with the grandchildren.

The daughter stocks also lack correspondences for the brother's children, nor is there anything in the evidence on the brother's children to parallel the evidence for the lumping of the sister's children with the grandchildren. But the completely negative evidence on the fraternal nephews must be weighed against the excellent correspondences for son and daughter, reflected, respectively, in nine and eight Indo-European stocks, including Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit. One may conclude that the brother's children were classed with the male speaker's children, a common pattern in patrilineal societies. On the other hand, the absence of a morph for brother's children, combined with the excellent correspondences for son's wife *(snwsos,* reflected in six stocks, including the Rigveda and Homer), would lend added support to the hypothesis of preferred cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter, the usual cousin in patrilineal societies; under such a rule the woman speaker would tend to identify her brother's daughter with her son's wife (Trubachev, 1959:133).

A final clue pointing in the same direction is the absence of a sound, specific morph for husband and brother's wife and wife, all of which suggests but by no means proves

that marriage with classificatory cross-cousins was preferred or prescribed; PIE *gʷen* might well have denoted "wife, brother's wife, mother's brother's daughter," and so forth. With the subsequent breakdown of the hypothetical cross-cousin marriage many Indo-European peoples presumably narrowed the meaning of *men-* and *gʷen-* to husband and wife, while others retained only the generic meaning of man and woman, or some combination of both the particular and the generic. The PIE classification of cousins and of fraternal nephews must remain highly tentative, but the combined inferences from the nepotic, cousin, and avuncular levels all point to an at least partial Omaha system, "typical of the patrilineate in its most highly developed form" (White, 1939:240).[5]

Proto-Slavic

Differentiation of the Proto-Slavic language from the other Indo-European stocks drew to completion between approximately 2000 and 1000 B. C. Due to internal migration and geographical contiguity, the increasingly divergent dialects, probably focused in eastern Poland, remained mutually intelligible until at least the sixth or seventh century A. D.; the reconstructed kinship terms probably reflect a much earlier period. Slavists have established the original vocabulary by comparing forms in various stages of fourteen languages, with special consideration for Old Church Slavonic, and for the degree of representation in at least one of the east (e. g., Russian), west (e. g., Polish), and south (e. g., Serbian) divisions of this great stock (Miklosich, 1886; Vasmer, 1950-58)[6] (Chart 4).

Chart 4

Proto-Slavic: Consanguines

		pradědU PaPaFa	*prababa* PaPaMo	
		dědU PaFa	*baba* PaMo	
	stryjI FaBr	*otIchI* Fa	*mati* Mo	*teta* MoSi	*ujI* MoBr
	bratrU Br			*sestra* Si	
synovicha BrDa	*synovichI* BrSo	*synU* So	*dUshti* Da	*sestrěnicha* SiDa	*sestrichU* SiSo
		vUnukU ChSo	*vUnuka* ChDa		
		pravUnukU ChChSo	*pravUnuka* ChChDa		

Proto-Slavic still resembled Proto-Indo-European in many ways. The sex of the relative component was still distributed in almost all the terms. Authority remained a component, *dědU* probably referring to the senior male in the family, whether a father or a

grandfather. The Proto-Slavs probably distinguished elder from younger siblings and seven degrees of generation. The discrimination between relationships through blood as against relationships through marriage had become clearer through the emergence of definite terms for husband *(mónzhI)* and wife *(zhená)*, mirrored in eight and ten Slavic languages, respectively, along with a generic form for spouse *(preng)*. Second degree collaterality was indicated by prefixing the adjective *dIvoju rodu* (Vasmer, 1950), while more distant degrees were probably expressed through modifiers that we can reconstruct from semantic and morphosyntactic correspondences in the daughter languages. The evidence for bifurcate collaterality has improved in Proto-Slavic; three distinct terms still set off the father's brother (now *stryjI)* from the father *(ótU* or *otĺchI)*, and from the mother's brother *(újI)*. The amital contrasts are also fairly clear, with the father's sister, a derivative of *stryjI,* set against the mother *(máti)*, and both opposed to the mother's sister, the *(téta)*.

On the other hand, three major semantic changes took place between the PIE and the Proto-Slavic stages. First, a new category of step relationship (Friedrich, 1962) had emerged, as is shown by the excellent correspondences for step-mother *(máshtekha)*, (Buck, 1949:128). A sampling of the evidence for this and for six other Proto-Slavic morphs is presented in Chart 5.

Chart 5

Denotation	Old Slavic	West Slavic	South Slavic	Total Slavic
WiFa	tĺstI	teść (P.)	tâst (S.-C.)	8 languages
WiMo	tĺshta	testice (C.)	tášta (S.-C.)	5 languages
FaBr	strýjI	stryj (P.)	striká (B.)	10 languages
MoBr	újI	wuj (P.)	újak (S.-C.)	10 languages
WiSi	svĺstI	świeść (P.)	svâst (S.-C.)	8 languages
DaHu	zántI	zieć (P.)	zet (Sl.)	9 languages
FaWi	máshtekha	macocha (P.)	macéha (S.-C.)	11 languages

A second semantic change was that the nepotic terminology had become consistently bifurcate collateral, *synovĭchI* denoting the brother's son, *synovĭcha,* the brother's daughter (masculine and feminine derivatives, respectively, of the word for son, *sýnU)*. *Nétii* or *sestrĭchU* symbolized the sister's son, and *sestrěnicha,* the sister's daughter (both derived from *sestrá,* sister). The reader is referred to Chart 4. I assume that these were the terms for a male speaker; etymologically, Proto-Slavic thus still reflects the classification of nephews that was analyzed under PIE patriliny above. The presence of fully articulated bifurcate collaterality at both the avuncular and nepotic levels strongly suggests unilineal descent and unilocal, probably patrilocal, residence. The definite absence of a Proto-Slavic term for cousin again implies that these kin types were being classed with other close collaterals within a system of unilineal descent.

A third, major change was the expanded distribution of the component of the sex of linking relative to a total of at least fourteen affinal terms, including the following

important additions: (1) wife's sister *(svĺstI)*, (2) the specialization of the PIE *ĝen-* from the meaning of relative to that of son-in-law, and, finally (3) there emerged a special set, unique to Slavic, for the wife's father *(tĺstI)*, and the wife's mother *(tĺshta)*, both constrasting with the two terms for the husband's parents that had been carried down from PIE with their more specialized reference (Charts 2, 5, and 7).

The recognition within the affinal system of the difference between relationships through the wife as against those through the husband to some extent parallels the differentiation of the ties through the mother and the sister as against those through the father and the brother within the consanguineal set; the dichotomization within both the affinal and the consanguineal sets is generated by recognizing the sex of the linking relative. On the other hand, whereas bifurcate collaterality within the consanguineal set is correlated with unilineal descent, bifurcate affinal terminology, as I will call it here, tends primarily to reflect extended, unilocal households, and, more generally, the need of both the spouses to distinguish between the various relationships created through their own marriage or that of their siblings or of their children. Proto-Slavic, with both types of bifurcation, thus stands somewhere between a clan organization and what W. H. R. Rivers long ago dubbed the kindred type of kinship nomenclature, characteristic of sedentary, agricultural societies with extended, unilocal families, and often traces of unilineal descent (Rivers, 1914:78-81). Archeological evidence indicates that these Iron Age Slavs were still living along river banks and on rises in the swamps in multichambered dwellings, practicing cereal agriculture and animal husbandry, supplemented by hunting and fishing.[7]

Proto-East-Slavic

The stage immediately succeeding Proto-Slavic should properly be Proto-East-Slavic, reconstructed by comparing Ukrainian, White Russian, and Great Russian, with special consideration for contemporary dialects, for Old Russian, and for the Kievan texts in Church Slavonic. Proto-East-Slavic has been omitted because, unlike Proto-Slavic and Old Russian, it was not adequately covered in the handbooks, dictionaries, and philological treatises, such as Vasmer and Trubachev. Also, I was not trained in Comparative Slavic and only at an introductory level in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian.

My present hypothesis is that Proto-East-Slavic might show evidence for the comparative importance of maternal, sororal, uxoral, and other ties through women that we could add to the Proto-Slavic *tĺstI* and *tĺshta*. The East Slavic term, *leleja*, without an Indo-European etymology, was used for maternally linked female relatives (Trubachev, 1959:87). Furthermore, the superb pottery, the highly developed agriculture, the signs of long-standing peace, the large, many-roomed houses (8 meters by 30 meters), and the ubiquitous female representations, the "Mother Goddesses" on the pottery and the statuary, all lead to the conclusion that the so-called Classic Tripolye, running from 2700 to 2100 B. C., could conceivably have been, but by no means necessarily was, a matrilineal, matrilocal culture; such appears to be the virtual consensus of the archeologists who have resurrected it (Gimbutas, 1956; Mongait, 1961:121). The section of the patrilineal Indo-Europeans who remained in and around the Tripolye area of the Ukraine and Romania presumably intermarried with the local populations. The interpretation of East Slavic origins is fraught with difficulties because from 500 B. C. to A. D. 700 the Ukrainian lands were repeatedly crossed and overrun by migratory groups of all sorts, notably Asiatic pastoralists coming in from the East and Slavic peoples backmigrating from the area around the Carpathians.

Old Russian

From about A.D. 600 the East Slavs, at first located mainly in Romania and the western Ukraine, completed their linguistic separation from the Slavs of the west and south. By the eleventh century the future Great Russian had already begun to differentiate from the dialects that have since evolved into Ukrainian (Matthews, 1951:116-19).

Most Russian prehistorians and historians seem to agree that the East Slavs had patrilineal clans and tribes and that they lost them between approximately A.D. 500-700. (Kljuchevsky, 1937: I; Pares, 1946:13-14). On the other hand, the East Slavic and Old Russian kinship nomenclature appears to have retained most of the essential outlines of the Proto-Slavic system for about one thousand years, from A.D. 600 to 1500, despite extensive and prolonged population movement and contacts with other cultures. Three of the latter deserve brief mention. The Viking (Varanger) conquest in the ninth century and the ensuing two hundred years of rule by a decreasingly foreign class of merchants and warriors, were probably accompanied by a considerable degree of Old Norse-Old Russian bilingualism and bilingual interference (Weinreich, 1953) in Kievan and Novgorodian Russia that may have contributed to certain persistences in the kinship. For example, Old Norse avuncular and nepotic terminology was also bifurcate collateral and may have reinforced the Old Russian system (Buck, 1949:113-14),[8] but the standard monograph on the subject of Old Norse linguistic influence does not touch on kinship (Thörnqvist, 1948).

By the middle of the eleventh century, however, many of the East Slavs had begun to leave the Kievan area en masse and to occupy the primeval northern forests, where they lived along the rivers in settlements of one to four houses. The archeological evidence, particularly from the north, shows an agricultural, pioneer society of extended, fairly isolated families, probably linked to each other by far-flung affinal ties. All social classes utilized the same basic house design that included a store-room, vestibule *(séni)*, and dwelling room *(izbá)* (Voronin *et al.*, 1948:207-21). The Russians in the northern woodlands partly absorbed the peaceful Finno-Ugric tribes; intermarriage and bilingualism here may have reinforced the concern with a horizontal tier of age-mates and the bilateral network of secondary and tertiary affines that came to be a keystone of the Russian system (Pehrson, 1954).

The third main influence came from the east. During the eleventh and the twelfth centuries Russian rulers and local leaders frequently intermarried with the Polovtsians and other patrilineal Asiatic pastoralists who were harassing the eastern and southern marches. Following the decimation of the Kievan populations, many of the Russians in their northern refuge areas were probably influenced by the patrilineal and patriarchal patterns of the Mongols; the Golden Horde at Sarai was culturally as well as politically dominant. To conclude, protracted culture contact with Vikings, Finno-Ugric aborigines, and Mongols may have reinforced or otherwise stimulated certain norms, notably patrilineal ones, in the semantic structure, even though the Russians have never actually borrowed kinship terms and have always shown an unusually high degree of ethnic and linguistic integrity.[9] The Old Russian of the fifteenth century still differed surprisingly little from Proto-Slavic.

Other lexical phenomena fill in the picture of patrilocal households. A special term, *bratuchado*, for the children of brothers, or, in a personal sense, for the children of the father's brother of the speaker, presumably symbolized the importance of the coresidence of brothers and of their children; it was not matched by a corresponding term for the children of sisters.

In the second place, the highly descriptive nepotic terminology of Old Russian partly

reflects a carry-over from Proto-Slavic (Chart 4), which used derivations from the brother term for the fraternal nepotes; *synovĭchI,* the brother's son, for example, is morphologically "little son," and thereby implies that the (male) speaker is identifying with his own brothers, as would be natural in a patrilocal family. Similarly, the terms for the sororal nepotes were derived from the term for sister, as in *sestrĭchU* for the sister's son, thus implying that the speaker identified his sisters with their own children, presumably as one category of persons living in households linked to his own by marriage.

By certain augmentations Old Russian evolved an unusually full bifurcate collateral nepotic set, with two synonyms for each of the four semantic slots, making a total of eight terms (Chart 6). The terms for the sororal nepotes were morphologically derivations from the roots for sister or for daughter, yielding *dshchérich* and *sestrĭch* for nephew, and *dshérsha* or *nestéra* for niece, whereas the terms for the fraternal nepotes were derived in a correspondingly symmetrical fashion from the roots for brother or for son, yielding *bratánich* or *synovétsI* for nephew, and *bratána* or *synovĭtsa* for niece. The old root *nétii,* a reflex of PIE *népoHt-,* was first recorded in the tenth century, but was rapidly replaced by derivations from the sibling and child terms that have just been discussed. In their morphological implications the two synonyms for each slot were complementary. *SynovétsI* or *bratánich,* for the brother's son, to take one example, implied both that the speaker identified with both his siblings, and, second, that the speaker identified his siblings with their children. And the hypothetical possibility must at least be mentioned that the eight terms symbolize a discrimination of the sex of the speaker. Thus, a man would call his brother's son a little son, whereas a woman would call her brother's son a little brother, and so forth. By either interpretation, the Old Russian stage definitely reflects extended households and a basically bilateral outlook on blood relationships.

Toward the end of the Old Russian period and throughout the nineteenth century, the derivations from the child terms had largely disappeared, but the previously synonymous derivations from the sibling terms continued to be used (Chart 6), implying the persistent validity of the speaker's identification with his own siblings. The sibling-derived terms, such as *bratánich,* functioned side by side with the generic, lineal terms for nephew and niece *(plemjánnik* and *plemjánnitsa),* both the latter derived from *plémja,* meaning blood or family group. Both of the lineal terms imply the conceptual lumping of younger collaterals. Fourth and last, Modern Russian today has been left with nothing but the fixed category of younger collaterals differentiated by sex (Chart 8). We thus have four stages in the nepotic terminology, with two kinds of transitional synonymy during the two middle stages of Old Russian and Modern Russian I, the latter dated at about 1850. The first three stages—Proto-Slavic, Old Russian, and Modern Russian I—all variously reflect a culture of extended, patrilocal families. Of course, the cognitive status of etymological and morphological awareness must be argued with considerable caution. But the gross terminological shifts plus the most transparent word formations strongly suggest structural change in the conceptualization of the nepotic set, and much about the evolving function of sibling solidarity and the solidarity of the extended household.

A third reflex of patrilocal families and, presumably, of patrilateral kindreds in Old Russian, is the extraordinary textual frequency and the wide distribution of the adjective *strýjnyj,* or *strýjnaja,* derived from the root for father's brother *(stryj); stryjn-,* that is, the component of paternal linkage, occurs in at least thirteen textually attested kinship terms to denote up to three collateral degrees and at least three generations, for example, *strýjnaja trétja sestrá* which denoted a female cousin through the father. One quarter (13/56) of the consanguine terms contain the form *stryj.* A complete set of cousin terms

Chart 6

Close Collaterals

Old Russian

Patrilateral			Matrilateral		
female		male	male		female
affinal	consanguine		consanguine		affinal
strýjnja FaBrWi	*strýja* FaSi	*stryj* FaBr	*uj* MoBr	*leľja, ujka* MoSi	*újnja* MoBrWi
strýjechka FaBrDa, FaSbDa	*strýjchichI* FaBrSo, FaSbSo		*ujéts* MoBrSo, MoSbSo		*ujéchka* MoBrDa, MoSbDa
synovĭtsa, or *bratánna* BrDa	*synovétsI*, or *bratánich* BrSo		*dshchérich*, or *sestrĭch*, or *nétii* SiSo		*dshchérsha*, or *nestéra* SiDa

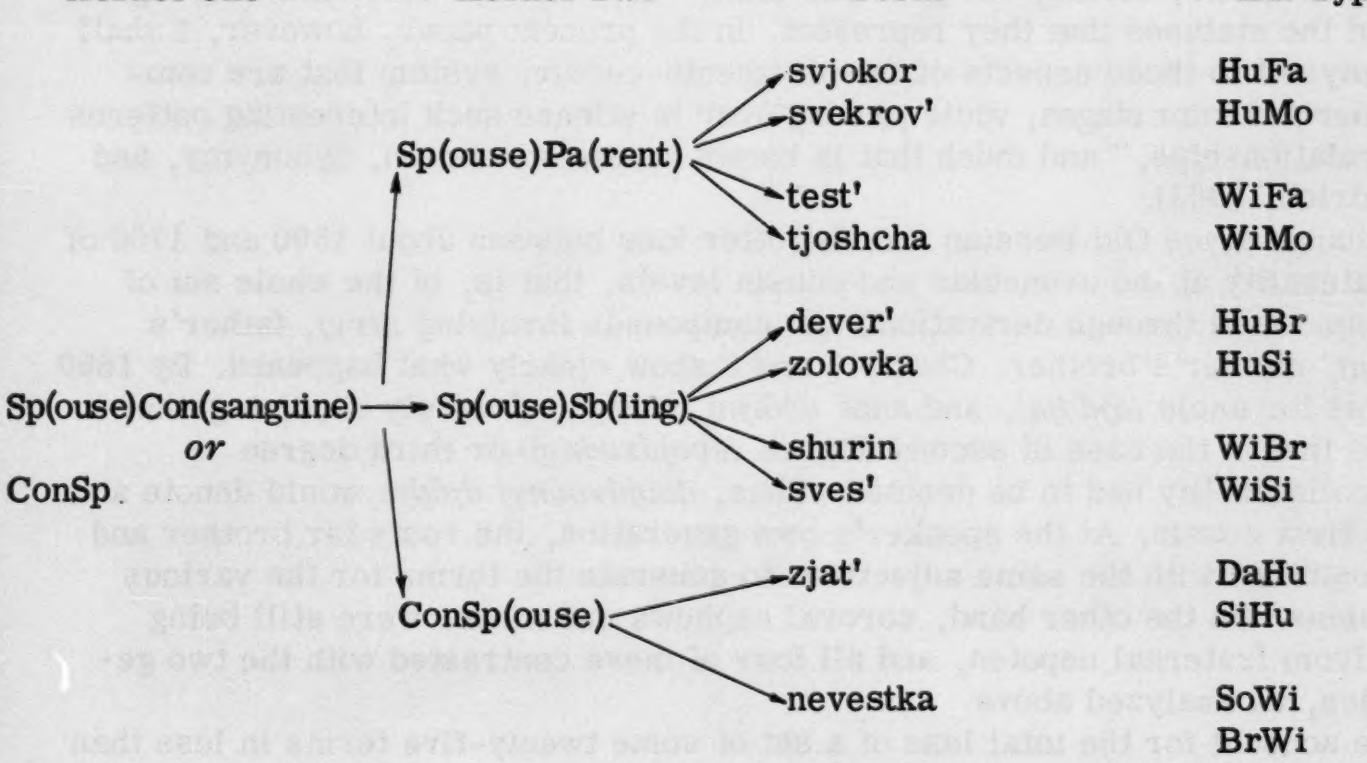
Modern Russian (I) II

	Male	Female
+1	*djádja* PaBr (PaSiHu)	*tjótja* PaSi (PaBrWi)
0	*dvojúrodnyj brat* PaSbSo	*dvojúrodnaja sestrá* PaSbDa
(fraternal)	*(brátich)* (BrSo)	*(bratána)* (BrDa)
-1	*plemjánnik* SbSo	*plemjánnitsa* SbDa
(sororal)	*(séstrich)* (SiSo)	*(sestrénitsa)* (SiDa)

to four collateral degrees could be generated by variously combining the adjectives *strýjnyj* (paternal linkage), *újnyj* (maternal linkage), *pérvyj* (first degree collateral), *vtorój* (second degree), and *trétij* (third degree), with the roots for brother and sister *(brat* and *sestrá)*. Thus, to cite a second possibility, *strýjnyj pérvyj brat* would denote a paternally linked first cousin. The glosses and the differential frequencies of dictionary entries lead me to believe that the cousin terms were used primarily for denoting the children of the parent's brother; thus, *újnyj brat* would refer primarily to the mother's brother's son rather than to her sister's son.

Equally striking evidence, on the other hand, underscores the importance of relationships through nuclear female consanguines: mother, sister, and daughter. In the first place, Old Russian had full bifurcate collateral terminology at all levels; relationships through women were discriminated in essentially the same way as relationships through men. The classification of cousins derives from a recognition of relationships through the mother as against those through the father; father's sibling's son and daughter now contrast with the mother's sibling's son and daughter, granted the statistical qualification noted above. In the second place, Old Russian like Proto-East-Slavic had a special term for denoting the maternal kinsmen such as the mother's sister *(málaja leľeja)*. Finally, Old Russian, like Proto-Slavic, showed a fairly symmetrical affinal set in which five terms for relationships through men, the husband, son, and brother, were matched by five terms for the corresponding relationships through women, the wife, daughter, and sister, as is shown on Chart 2 and the taxonomic graph below, for which I have used the almost identical Modern Russian terms. Chart 7 should be read from left to right; any entry to the right is a subclass of the nearest entry to the left.

Chart 7



My conclusion is that the thoroughgoing bifurcation within both the consanguineal and the affinal sets may be taken to symbolize an unusual concern with inheritance and succession through both men and women. Old Russian still showed traces of the patrilineal descent of Proto-Slavic, but it had lost unilineal descent groups. The Old Russians prob-

ably had patrilaterally slanted bilateral lineages and extended households or extended families in contiguous houses, patrilocal among the *aristoi* and patrilocal or bilocal among the masses of peasants, artisans, hunters, and fishermen. That they recognized at least four degrees of ascending generation can be deduced from the fairly consistent identification of third cousins and the presence of a special term, *prâshchur,* for denoting the grandfather's grandfather, through whom the speaker would, of course, be linked to such cousins. Old Russian precisely represents one variety of Rivers' "kindred" type of social structure.

The term "Old Russian" used above refers primarily to the evidence from documents written in the eleventh-century East Slavic. Direct instances of at least seventy-three such terms come from a large corpus of codes, chronicles, and religious literature running from the tenth century onward, and from specialized studies based on these sources (Filin, 1948; Trubachev, 1959). Several scholars (Lavrovskyj, 1869) have independently commented on the descriptive fullness and consistency of the Old Russian usage, a by-product, possibly, of the concern with kinship in the "Russian Law" of Yaroslav the Great, and in the historical documents dealing with the endless princely feuds between the six generations of the "sons of Yaroslav" (d. 1054).

Modern Russian I (1850)

The facts on Russian kinship for the nineteenth century are remarkably full due largely to the encyclopedic lexicography of V. Dahl, who in the course of his four volume work lists hundreds of terms (if we count synonyms), with definitions, structural relations, proverbs, alternates, and many facts of usage (Dahl, 1880-82). In addition, family relations constitute the primary framework for numerous masterpieces of Russian prose. The autobiographical *A Family Chronicle,* for example (Aksakov, 1848), not only introduces forty-three kinship terms, but provides many details on the emotional and legal implications of the statuses that they represent. In the present paper, however, I shall have to limit myself to those aspects of the nineteenth-century system that are comparable to earlier and later stages, while passing over in silence such interesting patterns as the "milk relationships," and much that is known about connotation, synonymy, and the like (Friedrich, 1962).

The great change since Old Russian was the utter loss between about 1500 and 1700 of bifurcate collaterality at the avuncular and cousin levels, that is, of the whole set of dichotomies expressed through derivations and compounds involving *stryj,* father's brother, and *uj,* mother's brother. Charts 6 and 8 show clearly what happened. By 1850 the lineal terms for uncle *(djádja),* and aunt *(tjótja),* were exclusively used, together with adjectives that in the case of second degree *(dvojúrodnyj)* or third degree *(trojúrodnyj)* collaterality had to be denoted. Thus, *dvojúrodnyj djádja* would denote a parent's male first cousin. At the speaker's own generation, the roots for brother and sister were combined with the same adjectives to generate the terms for the various classes of cousins. On the other hand, sororal nephews and nieces were still being distinguished from fraternal nepotes, and all four of these contrasted with the two generic categories, as analyzed above.

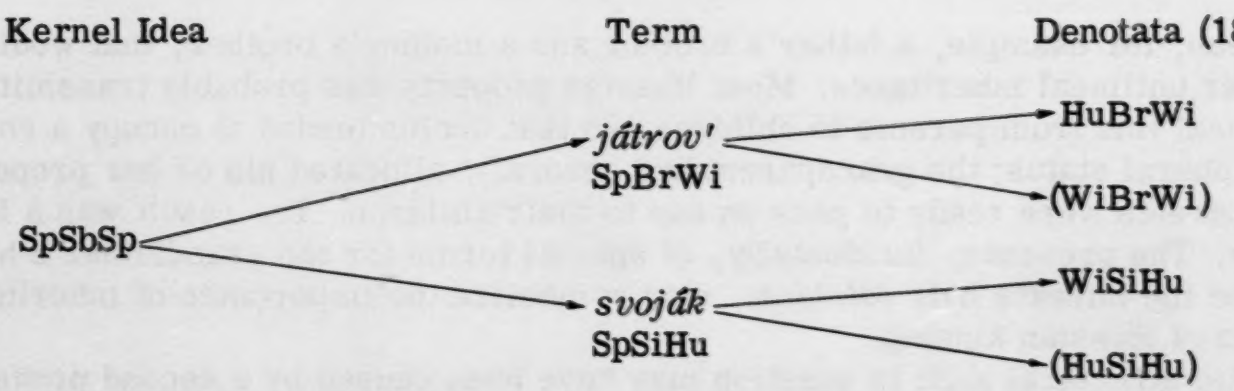
How can one account for the total loss of a set of some twenty-five terms in less than three hundred years, for the loss of *stryj* and *uj* and all their derivations? Three hypotheses are here put forth in a highly tentative spirit. First, since the early historic period, the Russians, unlike many other Slavs, had been observing bilateral inheritance, substantial properties passing down through women as well as men at all social levels. Bilateral inheritance conjoined with bilateral descent will tend to blur the sharp differ-

prove, that extreme social disorganization tends to accelerate change in formal cultural systems, including those of kinship terminology (Meillet, 1937:25).

Comparison with west and south Slavic developments is illuminating. The Poles retained the full-scale system of bifurcate collaterality, probably due in part to the rigid patrilineal inheritance rules and, at least among the upper classes, to an obsessive concern with patrilineally reckoned genealogies. But the Poles lost the bifurcate affinal system, emerging with a single set for in-laws. The Serbians, on the other hand, retained both affinal and consanguineal bifurcation as well as other archaic features (Lavrovskyj, 1869:98; Delbrück, 1889:401-7).

Three significant changes took place in the affinal system between Old Russian and Modern Russian I; the symmetrical set of fifteen affinal terms was augmented through the addition of three new pairs. First, *svoják*, while retaining the former, generic meaning of a relative, had developed a second, specialized meaning of spouse's sister's spouse, or more concretely, a spouse's sister's husband. The most frequent and usual meaning of *svoják* was that of wife's sister's husband, that is, the husband of a *svojáchenitsa* or *sves'* (wife's sister). *Svoják* in its second meaning of husband's sister's husband was comparatively rare. *Játrov',* on the other hand, still meant husband's brother's wife, just as it had since PIE. In addition, however, *játrov'* had added the meaning of wife's brother's wife, thereby acquiring the more generic reference of a spouse's brother's spouse (wife). *Játrov'* and *svoják* have thus come to parallel each other. The structural relations are set forth in Chart 9.

Chart 9



The second specific affinal development is that *svat* and *svákha* had been specialized to mean the child's spouse's father and the child's spouse's mother, probably because both the parents often functioned as the matchmakers for the marriage of their children; the basic and most frequent meanings of *svat* and *svákha* remained, first, a marriage matchmaker, not technically a kinship term in this sense, and, second, any man or woman in a household related by marriage to that of the speaker. The semantic shifts are shown on Chart 10 (p. 17).

The third striking change in the affinal system was the emergence among the Modern Russian peasantry of kinship terms to denote the daughter who remains in her family of birth after marriage contrary to the prevailing patrilocal rule of residence. Such a daughter was called a *vodvórka* (Sholokhov, 1959:I, 683), or a *vlazenīkha,* with four other alternates (Dahl, 1882). Five more or less synonymous terms arose for her uxorilocal husband. Although some morphs could probably be reconstructed for Old Russian by applying the comparative method to East Slavic dialects, there appears to be no documentary evidence of the existence of the semantic category before the modern period. The two Modern Russian morphemes exemplified by *vodvórka* and *vodvórets* contrasted

Chart 8

Modern Russian I: Consanguines

	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4
+4				*prashchur* PaPaPaFa	*prashchurka* PaPaPaMo			
+3				*praded* PaPaFa	*prababa* PaPaMo			
+2			*dvojurodnyj ded* PaPaBr	*ded* PaFa	*baba* PaMo	*dvo. baba* PaPaSi		
+1		*dv. djadja* PaPaSbSo	*djadja* PaBr	*otets* Fa	*mat'* Mo	*tjotja* PaSi	*dvo. tjotja* PaPaSbDa	
0	*tro. brat* PaPaSbChSo	*dv. brat* PaSbSo	*brat* Br			*sestra* Si	*dvo. sestra* PaSbDa	*tro. sestra* PaPaSbChDa
-1		*dv. plem.* PaSbChSo	*plemjannik* SbSo	*syn* So	*doch'* Da	*plemjannitsa* SbDa	*dvo. plem.*[a] PaSbChDa	
-2			*vnuchatyj plem.*, or *dvojurodnyj vnuk* SbChSo	*vnuk* ChSo	*vnuchka* ChDa	*vnuchataja plem.*, or *dvo. vnuchka* SbChDa		
-3				*pravnuk* ChChSo	*pravnuchka* ChChDa			

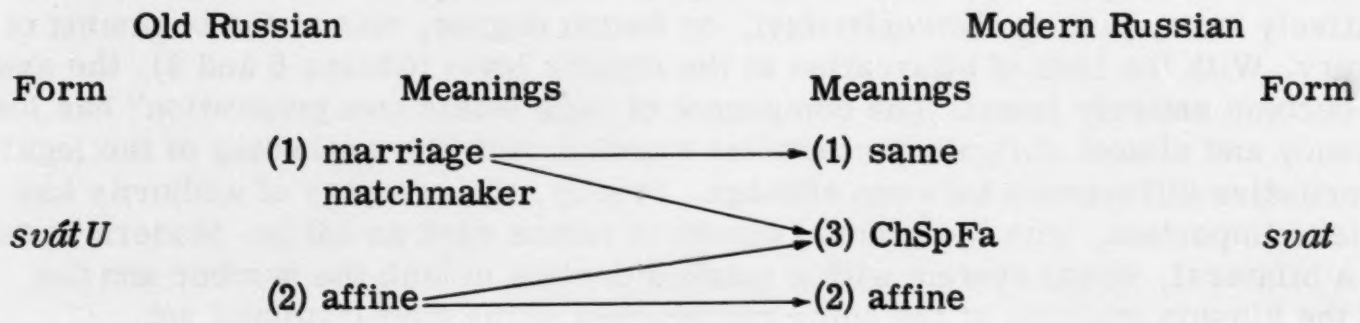
ences between, for example, a father's brother and a mother's brother, that would be crucial under unilineal inheritance. Most Russian property was probably transmitted down the lineal line from parents to children, so that uncles tended to occupy a comparatively peripheral status; the grandparent had generally allocated his or her property before the parents were ready to pass on any to their children. The result was a lineal terminology. The presence, incidentally, of special terms for the grandfather's heir *(dédich)*, and the father's heir *(ótchich)*, may symbolize the importance of inheritance in the workings of Russian kinship.

The drastic structural shift in question may have been caused by a second process, peculiarly characteristic of Slavic kinship. The Old Russians were wont to use the terms for close, elder consanguines, that is, for grandparents, uncles, and aunts, as names for evil, malevolent, or dangerous objects and spirits, such as wolves and devils. When the association of the kinship term with the "unclean power" became sufficiently fixed, a new term had to be coined or derived for the original kinship status (Stankiewicz, 1958). This semantic process explains the emergence of what is etymologically "little grandmother" as the standard word for butterfly *(bábochka)*, and also the extraordinary proliferation of synonyms and regionalisms for the close consanguines—the direction of replacement varied significantly by region. Dahl lists five alternates for uncle, and eleven for aunt. By the same token, the roots for paternally and maternally linked uncles and aunts were probably under the pressure of taboos which, combined with other factors, led to the rapid elimination during the short time span.

In the third place, the two hundred or more years in question were those of Ivan the Dread, the Time of Troubles (1601-13), and the first Romanovs. Russian culture was torn by tremendous losses of population, incredible famines, migrations, and deportations, the ravaging incursions of foreign armies and Cossack hordes, and, finally, by intermittent economic chaos. It would seem reasonable to assume, although difficult to

with the corresponding morphemes for the patrilocal daughter (e.g., *doch')* and son-in-law *(zjat')*, forcing us to postulate an independent component of patrilocal household membership (Friedrich, 1962), the key question being, "Does the relative in question normally belong to the speaker's household?" This component of household membership functions in a comparatively redundant manner in the meaning of many other terms, such as that for brother. In conclusion, the typologically large number of Modern Russian affinal terms—twenty-five if we include step relationships—symbolized a total of thirty-eight kin types.

Chart 10



The semantic structure of Modern Russian I was still close to Old Russian and Proto-Slavic, although we know more definitely that nine degrees of generation and the relative age of siblings were being distinguished consistently. Authority remained an important conceptual category, although it has to be postulated for the minimal definition of only four terms, such as *bát'ja,* the male family head.

The surprisingly conservative nomenclature continued to symbolize the social relationships within the extended household and between such households linked by marriage. The preservation and widely increased distribution of the extended household were causally related to the hardening of serfdom during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; both the landlords and the Muscovite state found it advantageous for taxation and social control to foster the patrilocal, patriarchal structure that was itself in keeping with certain basic drifts in Russian peasant culture (Englemann, 1884:342-75). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such households provided a stable, rural base for the national goals of pioneer expansion into the east, of intensive manufacturing in home workshops, and, finally, of freeing adult males for migrant labor in the mushrooming industries and harvests to the south. In the northern and central regions, which are my principal concern, the peasants lived in timber stockhouses containing ten to thirty or more members, most persons sleeping in the main room which also included the huge stove. The principles determining the composition of the household were about equally those of economics and of kinship, that is, consanguinity and affinity. Two to ten households constituted the typical village (Haxthausen, 1856:I, 162; Blomkvist, 1956), although in the southern Great Russian regions the population of a community might run into the hundreds. The size of the household also decreased toward the south. The families of the rural gentry were likewise extended and usually patriarchal, although the constituent nuclear families might live in separate sections of a very large dwelling, or in houses a short carriage ride from each other. Russians at all social levels appear to have oriented themselves in terms of a vast network of kinship, with scores to hundreds of actual relatives surrounding the average individual. A complex of causes may thus partly account for the conservation of a full-fledged "kinship" type of social organization for almost the entirety of the population in a rapidly industrializing, bureaucratic state.

Our knowledge of Russian kinship for the past hundred years is based on dictionaries, primarily of the standard language (Ushakov, 1935-40), and on some ethnographic descriptions and realistic literature (Kushner, 1956; Sholokhov, 1959). With weaker information for the rural classes and with rapid and continuous culture change, the fifth stage in this study must be stated largely in terms of trends.

While the qualitative profile of the nomenclature still resembles Modern Russian I, the distribution and frequency of many old components have altered considerably. Terms for collaterals beyond the second degree are used less frequently, especially at the ascending and descending generations; for example, *trojúrodnyj,* or third degree, is now comparatively rare, just as *chetvejúrodnyj,* or fourth degree, was at the beginning of the last century. With the loss of bifurcation at the nepotic level (Charts 6 and 8), the system has now become entirely lineal. The component of "age within own generation" has lost its frequency and almost obligatory character together with the weakening of the legal and authoritative differences between siblings. Finally, the category of authority has become less important, with the gradual disuse of terms such as *bát'ja.* Modern Russian now has a bilateral, lineal system with a marked decline in both the number and the scope of the kinship statuses at the outer peripheries of the consanguineal set.

Certain affinal terms have disappeared or significantly changed in their distribution. Both *svat* and *svákha* are seldom used with the specific denotation of the father and the mother of the child's spouse. Neither term is used for "matchmaker" since arranged marriages through such intermediaries have vanished from the scene. The formerly pan-Russian terms for a uxorilocal daughter and son-in-law have fallen into comparative obsolescence, except for a brief revival in the devastated western regions after World War II (Kushner, 1956:22). Russian has completely lost the word *játrov',* meaning the spouse's, especially the husband's brother's wife. On the other hand, *svoják* is entirely current with the primary meaning of wife's sister's husband. The old term for a wife's brother *(shúrin),* is still standard and may be replacing the contrasting term for the husband's brother *(déver'),* which, like *játrov',* harked back to the patrilocal Proto-Indo-Europeans. At some points in the semantic field, then, we find terminological evidence for the weakening of patriarchy and patrilocality.

With these semantic shifts in mind, let us turn to the recent culture history. The Russians have experienced cataclysmic transformations during the past century. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and the subsequent property laws and capitalistic profiteering led to a more general social disorganization punctuated by devastating famines, brutalized relations between kinsmen, and revolutionary outbreaks around the turn of the century. Although weakened, the extended family continued to prevail because of the advantages of economic cooperation. The Russian Revolution (1918-22) and both the World Wars caused the death of tens of millions of peasants, mainly men, the wholesale destruction of houses and villages, the breakup of families, and tragic value conflicts within the home. After the Revolution and World War II many villages consisted almost entirely of women and children. In one large south-central Russian village in 1953, one half of the households were headed by women (Dunn and Dunn, 1962:337). Kinship ties through, of, or to women have predominated in a purely statistical sense for almost fifty years. The collectivization (1928-32) and the progressive urbanization of the past forty years have profoundly altered the institutional supports of the old kinship and the extended households. By the 1950's the typical household on most collective farms was the so-called little family of 4.5 members (Vucinich, 1960:869), that characteristically includes the parents—at least a mother—and children, and often one older female relative,

whom I would call the "structural *babushka*." The recent trends in the kinship terminology clearly mirror the contraction in the size of the family and the altered function of women. On the other hand, Russian kinship shows great scope and vitality when compared with the peasantry in many other urbanized, industrialized, secularized nation-states. The conservation of the kinship, especially by the peasant women, has often meant moral and physical survival in the face of material want, political terrorism, and the weakening of the Russian Orthodox Church. Russian kinship today stands somewhere between the "kindred" and "family" types of social organization.

Conclusions

First, formal semantic analysis has quite understandably been thought of hitherto as a primarily synchronic model, applied to cultural systems conceived of as static states. The present study suggests that a second, major value of the model lies in its diachronic applications, in allowing one to state the changes in a semantic system with comparative parsimony and with greater accountability to the total network. Consideration of componential categories such as the degree of generation and of collaterality, or of the taxonomic relations between affinal terms, or of apparently marginal categories such as "authority" and "household membership," may lead us to a comparatively realistic picture of what the systems actually meant to the speakers at any given stage. I feel especially that it is wiser to base one's inferences on the entire set of close collaterals rather than to place a relatively excessive reliance on the cousin terminology.

Second, the formal model and the present results can be fruitfully related to many aspects of the theories of cultural evolution (Service, 1960). Specifically, the system in question has changed from (1) the PIE patrilineal, Omaha type, with classificatory terminology, to (2) the highly descriptive, bifurcate collateral and bifurcate affinal Proto-Slavic and Old Russian varieties, the former probably patrilocal and patrilineal, the latter patrilocal and bilateral, and both characterized by extended households and patrilateral kindreds. There followed (3) a Modern Russian bilateral, lineal type based on extended and generally patrilocal families, and (4) the quantitatively reduced bilateral and completely lineal type that reflects the nuclear or slightly expanded households of contemporary Russia. Such an evolutionary sequence from the "clan" to the "kindred" to the "family" types of W. H. R. Rivers, while neither universal nor necessary, does seem to be empirically widespread, and largely consonant with the eminently sensible evolutionary theories of Julian Steward.

The present findings can also be related to the techniques of reconstruction developed by Morgan, Rivers, Eggan, and Murdock. Following their approach, one can interpolate or extrapolate stages intermediate or anterior to those that are known in the present sequence. According to Murdock, for example, Omaha systems are most probably derived from Dakota ones, the latter marked by patrilineal descent and bifurcate merging terminology for collaterals (Murdock, 1949: 236, 352). While the crucial cousin terms are lacking, we can check this proposition against a cautious analysis of the more obvious etymologies. It turns out that the PIE terms for the father's brother and the father are obviously related, either the father's brother *(pHtrwo-)* deriving from the father *(pHter)* or both deriving from some third form. The avuncular terminology thus suggests bifurcate merging at the first ascending generation in Pre-Proto-Indo-European (PPIE). Second, the correspondences for the father's brother and the mother's brother must be considered together with the absence of any morph and only a few semantic correspondences for the father's sister. Such would be the reflexes of a patrilineal avunculate. Other

Dakota features such as nonsororal polygyny, independent polygynous or patrilocally extended families, and patriclans, all seem probable for PPIE.[10]

Murdock's technique also suggests several likely stages intermediate between the Omaha of PIE and the Patri-Sudanese of Proto-Slavic. The latter, characterized by descriptive cousin terminology and patrilineal descent, probably evolved directly into the Patri-Fox of Old Russian, with its bilateral descent, patrilocal residence, and the differentiation of cross-cousins from each other and from parallel cousins. Old Russian would thus be a transitional stage between a patrilineal and a fully bilateral system (Murdock, 1949:233). But on coming to the next link, not one of the theoretically specified possibilities—Normal Eskimo, Bi-Eskimo, or Neo-Eskimo—could, in fact, have come between the Patri-Fox of Old Russian and the Patri-Eskimo of Modern Russian I. One must conclude that one or more types intervened between the Patri-Fox and the Patri-Eskimo stages that may not figure at all in Murdock's theory. In other words, the present study raises questions about the evolutionary status of Patri-Fox that are related to its anomalous status in a purely logical sense. The given case of evolution may be seen, in any case, as adding some empirical depth and some new queries to our present concepts and tools for reconstruction. The foregoing discussion may be summarized in Chart 11.

Chart 11

PPIE	PIE		Proto-Slavic	Old Russian	Mod. Russ. I	Mod. Russ. II
Dakota	→ Omaha	→ ? →	Patri-Sudanese	→ Patri-Fox	→ ? → Patri-Eskimo	→ Neo-Eskimo

The third major conclusion of this paper is that Rivers' "kindred type" as exemplified by the East Slavic systems is a distinct level of organization fully equal in both evolutionary and typological importance to the unilineal, nonunilineal and simple conjugal systems that continue to preoccupy contemporary theorists. And within the kindred systems the terminology for affines appears to be of comparatively great importance. The following taxonomic innovations are therefore put forward with the plea that the foregoing analysis shows their usefulness.

1. *Bifurcate affinal* terminology symbolizes to an approximately equal degree the in-law relationships through both men and women. Proto-Slavic, Old Russian, and, especially, Modern Russian I, all exemplify this symmetrical type. A full bifurcate affinal system may have fourteen or more terms for second-degree relationships, and two or more terms for tertiary affinal slots, as in Modern Russian I. Bifurcate affinal terminology, especially when correlated with bifurcate collateral consanguineal terminology, as in Proto-Slavic and Old Russian, may be taken as powerful evidence for extended, unilocal households or some functional analogy to them, and, probably, for patrilateral, bilateral, or, at least in theory, matrilateral kindreds.

2. *Unilateral affinal* terminology symbolizes in-law relationships primarily through a spouse of one sex. Unilateral affinal combined with either type of bifurcate consanguineal terminology usually symbolizes unilocal households in which the norm is actually realized by most persons and the couple in question is definitely separated from the household into which they do not move. The principal subtypes of unilateral affinal terminology are:

a. *Feminalateral,* in which affinal relationships involving the mother, sister, daughter, or wife are somehow given greater emphasis than the corresponding relationships involving the men. Modern Russian II shows certain trends in the feminalateral direction. *Uxorilateral* is a more restricted affinal subtype symbolizing many relations through the wife and few through the husband.

b. *Hominolateral* emphasizes relationships involving the husband, father, brother, and son more fully than those involving the corresponding women. The *virilateral* affinal subtype symbolizes many relationships through the husband and few through the wife. Proto-Indo-European would constitute an excellent example of the virilateral subtype. Comparatively complete and extreme cases of virilateral terminology are possible because patrilocality, unlike matrilocality, often involves a change of community and, after the birth of the first child, a complete change in the corporate status of the in-marrying woman.

3. *Merging affinal* terminology symbolizes relationships by only one set of terms irrespective of the sex of the linking spouse. The modern English in-law terms illustrate this subtype. Merging affinal terminology especially when combined with lineal consanguineal terms is highly diagnostic of bilocal or neolocal residence and the corresponding household types.

Bifurcate affinal combined with lineal consanguineal terminology probably symbolizes, as in Modern Russian I and II, a society that is shifting from extended households to nuclear family households. Various other subsets in Modern Russian I, such as the two terminological classes of spouse's sibling's spouse, vividly illustrate how the more subtle affinal features may be related to extended households that are ideally and usually, but by no means invariably, unilocal. The above remarks on taxonomy and correlations may indicate some of the unrealized values of affinal terminology for cross-cultural comparison and ethnological reconstruction.

My fourth general conclusion derives from the possibilities of relating the four thousand year time depth of the present study to various external factors. I find the following correlations of language and culture particularly significant: (1) the probability of an Omaha sort of patriliny among the seminomadic or at least highly mobile Proto-Indo-Europeans of the third millenium; (2) the combination of bifurcate affinal and consanguineal terminology with good archeological and historical evidence for the prevalence of extended families in the Old Russian period; (3) the role of serfdom as a socioeconomic system in protracting the "kindred" stage of evolution right into the nineteenth century; (4) the correlation during the accelerated change of the past hundred years of the emergence of a completely lineal system with the historically caused preponderance of neolocal, nuclear families.

A final conclusion is that the present study points toward the possible rewards of comparable attempts in several areas where the linguistically and historically inferable kinship data approach or exceed two thousand years, such as: (1) Arabic, running from Proto-Semitic to the archaic Koranic texts of the seventh century A. D. down to the present Bedouins; (2) Dravidian, from Proto-Dravidian to the copious Old Tamil literature of A. D. 500-600 down to the present Tamilians; (3) Chinese, from Proto-Sinitic to the conservative Confucian literature of 600 B. C. to the present day (Fêng, 1936); (4) Hebrew, from Proto-Semitic to the Old Testament of about 1300 B. C., to modern Hebraic pastoral groups; and, finally, several stocks of Indo-European, especially Greek and Indic, with fairly continuous records from the Homeric epics of 1100 B. C. and the Vedic hymns of at least 1500 B. C. The sample is actually larger than the one originally used for developing glottochronology, and it is sufficiently diversified in time and space and sufficiently imbedded in known archeological, historical, and social causes, to provide a valuable comparative and diachronic dimension to our understanding of the evolution of semantic (e. g., kinship) systems.[11]

University of Pennsylvania

NOTES

1. Several other independent lines of evidence point in the same direction. The sound Indo-European etymon for daughter-in-law *(snws-)*, is remarkably close to the several south Caucasian terms, such as Mingrelian *nosa* (Trubachev, 1959:32). This particular correspondence may reflect precisely the sort of bilingualism, intermarriage, and bride-capture that still characterized nineteenth-century relations between the Terek Cossacks and the Caucasian, especially Chechen, tribesmen (Tolstoj, 1951:160). Second, Mesopotamian contacts are partly demonstrated by the linguistics and archeology of the wagon-chariot complex, and by the Assyrian and Sumerian origin, respectively, of the words for axe and copper.

2. Throughout this paper stars have been omitted since the context makes it clear when the reference is to reconstructed forms. The base stem or the nominative singular of the morphs has been cited, the former symbolized by a final hyphen. The cited forms have not been footnoted, since the understanding is that all the PIE, Proto-Slavic and Old Russian terms have been cross-checked, particularly in Delbrück, Pokorny, Preobrazhensky, Vasmer, and Trubachev. The numbers in parentheses on the PIE charts refer to the daughter stocks containing at least one daughter language with a reflex in form and meaning of the PIE morph in question. The numbers after the semicolon indicate the number of daughter stocks in which the particular meaning is reflected. In the case of *awyo-* and the nepotic classes the top number opposite the morph indicates the total form-and-meaning correspondences, whereas the lower numbers classify the distribution of meanings in the daughter stocks.

The transcription of PIE has been limited to one laryngeal; the second and third would be cumbersome here, and the fourth was set up on the basis of a contrast in Hittite alone. Otherwise, (1) the aspirates are unit phonemes symbolized here by a digraph, such as /bh/, (2) all the PIE semivowels, /m, n, l, r, w, y/, have both syllabic and nonsyllabic allophones, the latter in any position bounded by a vowel, except after heavy syllables, (3) the consonants with the superscripts, /$\hat{k}$, $\hat{g}$/, are palato-velars, and those with a raised ^{w} are labio-velars, (4) H stands for the first laryngeal phoneme, with two allophones: (a) length after vowels or semivowels, (b) schwa between consonants, (5) /e/ stands for the first laryngeal plus the general vowel, /a/ for the second laryngeal plus the vowel, and /o/ for the third laryngeal plus vowel, (6) /sh/ stands for /ṣ/ in Sanskrit, /š/ in Lithuanian, and so forth, whereas /th/ has been used for Greek theta.

3. Delbrück notes, "Ich nehme also an, dass die Bezeichnung *népōtes* von dem *ávos* ausging. Ist dieser der mütterlicher Grossvater, so sind die *népōtes* ihm gegenüber Enkel, ist er Oheim, so sind sie ihm gegenüber Neffen."

4. The Namboodiri Brahmins of South India have patrilineal descent groups combined with Hawaiian cousin terminology extending to the third or fourth collateral degree (Koutsoudas, 1961). About the PIE cousins, Delbrück's opinion was: "Hierbei hört die Gemeinsamkeit der Bezeichnungen völlig auf. Ich kann daher nur einen Überblick über die Thatsachen der Einzelsprachen geben . . . darf man wohl schliessen, dass Vettern und Cousinen in der Urzeit sich als Brüder und Schwester bezeichnet haben" (Delbrück, 1889:506).

5. But the fact also remains that if inferences based on negative evidence be discounted, most of the system presented by the PIE morphs can be accounted for by assuming nothing more than bilateral descent and extended, patrilocal families. . . . On the other hand, if one postulates PIE morphemes on the basis of purely semantic correspondees one is left with a massively descriptive system that is totally at variance

with the Omaha system that is delicately but, I think, conclusively obtained by insisting on a skeleton of correspondences *of form and of meaning*.

According to an original hypothesis by N. Trubetskoj, *newýstho-* was a PIE root meaning "the newest" or "the youngest one." The other etymologies of Slavic *nevéstka* as "the unknown one" (with protection from taboos by the same token), are false.

6. Most of the fairly orthodox transliteration here used for Slavic and Russian forms is self-explanatory. Otherwise, kh stands for a voiceless, dorso-velar spirant, j for a front semivowel, y for a high central, unrounded vowel, ' after a consonant for palatalization in Modern Russian, and, finally, for the Proto-Slavic and Old Russian forms I have used I and U for the reduced high-mid front and back vowels. For the limited set of kinship terms it has proved workable to transcribe the nasalized vowels as vowel plus n.

7. The qualitative differences between PIE and Proto-Slavic, after about 2,500 years, are of about the same order as those between Proto-Slavic and Modern Russian, 1,500 years later.

8. The Old Norse was *fǫður-brōðir, mōður-brōðir, fǫður-systir,* and *mōður-systir;* Modern Danish and Swedish still have bifurcate collateral avuncular terminology (Buck, 1949:113). These North European patterns, whether Old Russian or Scandinavian, have evolved independently. Both reflect the prevalence of isolated, extended households.

9. The only reasonable exception to the lack of borrowing is *bát'ja,* which may have entered from Turkic languages.

10. All the inferences of patriliny in this paper are diametrically opposed to the dogmatic position of many Soviet linguists and anthropologists, who, following Morgan, must have a matrilineate and matriarchy in PIE, accompanied or preceded by "group marriage," of course (Isachenko, 1953).

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